

Message Text

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FOR S/P GROSE, SPIEGEL, AND WARD FROM LAKE

EO 11652: N/A
TAGS: XA, US
SUBJ: TEXT OF REVISED NAACP SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REVISED SPEECH. PLEASE TYPE
AS DRAFT NUMBER TWO AND SUBMIT TO SECRETARY UNDER
COVER OF MEMO NOTING CLEARANCE PROCESS. TARNOFF HAS
READ IT AND NOW WISHES TO SERVE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
AT CHALLENGING POST IN AFRICA. PLEASE CABLE ME
SECRETARY'S REACTIONS AND YOUR REDRAFTS.

2. MARY ANN SHOULD CHECK TRADE STATISTICS IN ACCORD-
ANCE QUERY IN MAYNE'S MEMO.

3. BEGIN TEXT:
THIS IS A SPECIAL OCCASION FOR ME:
--TO MEET WITH AN ORGANIZATION--A GROUP OF
PEOPLE--FOR WHOM THE PRESIDENT AND I HAVE DEEP
ADMIRATION;
--AND TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SUCH AN IMPORTANT
SUBJECT: AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH AFRICA.

4. AFRICA MATTERS VERY MUCH TO THE UNITED STATES.
THIS IS A FACT MORE AND MORE AMERICANS ARE COMING TO
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UNDERSTAND.

5. YOU IN THE NAACP HAVE RECOGNIZED THIS FACT SINCE
THE DAYS OF ITS BEGINNINGS IN 1909.

6. YOU FINANCED THE FIRST TWO PAN AFRICAN CONGRESSES,
IN 1919 AND 1920.

7. YOU URGED THAT THE ISSUE OF COLONIALISM BE DEALT WITH AT THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

8. YOU HAVE LONG CALLED THE ATTENTION OF OUR NATION TO THE PROBLEMS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

9. YOU HAVE ADVOCATED TANGIBLE AID TO THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA. WHILE SUPPORTING THE MARSHALL PLAN, YOU CALLED FOR SIMILAR EFFORTS IN AFRICA, THE CARIBBEAN, AND OTHER DEVELOPING AREAS.

10. YOUR ANNUAL CONVENTIONS HAVE PAID CONSTANT ATTENTION TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS. I LOOK FORWARD TO STUDYING THE REPORT OF YOUR TASK FORCE ON AFRICA THAT IS BEING SUBMITTED AT THE CONVENTION HERE IN ST. LOUIS.

11. IN ALL OF THESE EFFORTS, YOU HAVE BEEN FARSIGHTED. YOU HAVE CONCENTRATED ON FUNDAMENTALS. WE IN A NEW ADMINISTRATION HOPE TO BE AND DO SO, AS WELL, IN BUILDING OUR POLICIES TOWARDS AFRICA.

12. WE PROCEED FROM A BASIC PROPOSITION THAT OUR POLICIES MUST RECOGNIZE THE UNIQUE IDENTITY OF AFRICA. WE CAN BE NEITHER RIGHT NOR EFFECTIVE IF WE TREAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AFRICA SIMPLY AS ONE PART OF THE THIRD WORLD OR AS A TESTING GROUND OF EAST-WEST COMPETITION.

13. AFRICAN REALITY IS INCREDIBLY DIVERSE. NO SINGLE AMERICAN APPROACH CAN PROVIDE ANSWERS TO THE COMPLEX QUESTIONS WE MUST ADDRESS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. NO ONE POLICY SHOULD OBSCURE THE NEED FOR TREATING EACH AFRICAN NATION AS AN ENTITY WITH ITS OWN CONCERNS AND INTERESTS.

14. BUT OUT OF THIS DIVERSITY COMES A GENERAL FACT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. AFRICA HAS A HUGE PHYSICAL POTENTIAL -- IN RESOURCES TO BE DEVELOPED, IN HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER TO BE HARNESSSED, IN HUMAN TALENT.

15. LET US CONSIDER HOW THIS IS TRUE IN TERMS OF OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. FOR AFRICA'S FUTURE IS TIED TO OUR OWN.

16. --THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE SEARCH FOR RACIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL HAVE PROFOUND EFFECTS AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--JUST AS

OUR PARTICIPATION IN THAT SEARCH IS BASED ON THE
VALUES OF OUR OWN SOCIETY.

--THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS AT THE UNITED
NATIONS, AND IN OTHER MULTILATERAL BODIES, IS CRITICAL.
FIFTY OF THE 147 UN MEMBER STATES ARE AFRICAN.

--AFRICA'S NATURAL WEALTH ALREADY PROVIDES A
SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF OUR IMPORTS OF SUCH COMMODITIES
AS COPPER, COBALT, AND MANGANESE FOR OUR INDUSTRIES,
AND COCOA AND COFFEE FOR OUR KITCHENS. AND AFRICA
SUPPLIES 38 PER CENT OF OUR CRUDE PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

--OUR DIRECT INVESTMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
HAS INCREASED NEARLY SIX-FOLD VVER THE PAST FIFTEEN
YEARS; OUR TRADE NOW IS ALMOST TWELVE TIMES WHAT
IT WAS THEN. AND THE PATTERN OF OUR TRADE WITH AFRICA
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HAS SHIFTED TOWARDS BLACK AFRICA. TRADE WITH SOUTH
AFRICA IN 1960 WAS 39 PER CENT OF OUR COMMERCE

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WITH AFRICA; NOW, OUR TRADE WITH NIGERIA ALONE IS
DOUBLE THE VALUE OF THAT WITH SOUTH AFRICA.
--BEYOND THESE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES THAT

BIND OUR FUTURES, THERE ARE THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LINKS FROM WHICH WE HAVE BENEFITED SO GREATLY. OUR SOCIETY AND CULTURE ARE ENRICHED BY THE HERITAGE SO MANY AMERICANS FIND IN AFRICA. WE FIND THIS ENRICHMENT EVERY DAY--IN OUR LITERATURE, OUR ART, OUR MUSIC, AND OUR SOCIAL VALUES.

17. MUCH OF WHAT WE EAT ALSO ORIGINATED IN AFRICA. I KNOW THAT MY OWN FAMILY IS DIVIDED ON THE SUBJECT OF HOW MUCH WE OWE AFRICA FOR PROVIDING US WITH BEANS AND OKRA. BUT ALL AMERICA AGREES ON THE VALUE OF THE PEANUT.

18. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS, AS WE HAVE CONSIDERED THE SPECIFIC POLICIES I WILL DISCUSS TONIGHT, A NUMBER OF BROAD POINTS EMERGED. THEY DEFINE THE GENERAL NATURE OF OUR APPROACH.

19. FIRST, THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLICIES TOWARDS AFRICA ARE POSITIVE POLICIES. THEY SHOULD NOT BE REACTIVE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF OTHER POWERS, OR TO CRISES AS THEY ARISE. DAILY HEADLINES SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SET OUR AGENDA FOR FUTURE PROGRESS.

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20. SECOND, OUR OBJECTIVE MUST BE A PROSPEROUS AND STRONG AFRICA THAT IS AT PEACE WITH ITSELF AND AT PEACE WITH THE WORLD. THE LONG-TERM SUCCESS OF OUR AFRICAN POLICY DEPENDS MORE ON OUR ACTUAL ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND OUR ABILITY TO HALP AFRICANS RESOLVE THEIR DISPUTES--TO THE EXTENT THIS IS SOUGHT-- THAN ON MANEUVERS FOR SHORT-TERM DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGE.

21. THIRD, OUR POLICIES SHOULD RECOGNIZE--AND ENCOURAGE--THE FORCE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM. HAVING WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE, AFRICAN NATIONS WILL DEFEND THEIR INDEPENDENCE AGAINST CHALLENGES FRO ANY SOURCE. WHENEVER WE INJECT AMERICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS...AND WHENEVER WE NEEDLESSLY DRAMATIZE THE EAST-WEST COMPETITIVE ASPECTS OF AN AFRICAN SITUATION...WE SOW DIVISION AMONG THE AFRICANS, AND DAMAGE THEIR ABILITY TO OPPOSE EFFORTS AT DOMINATION BY OTHERS.

22. FOURTH, OUR POLICIES MUST REFLECT OUR NATIONAL VALUES. OUR DEEP BELIEF IN HUMAN RIGHTS--POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL--LEADS US TO POLICIES THAT SUPPORT THEIR PROMOTION THROUGHOUT AFRICA. THIS MEANS CONCERN FOR INDIVIDUALS ANYWHERE ON THE CONTINENT WHOSE RIGHTS ARE THREATENED. AND IT MEANS MAKING OUR

BEST EFFORT PEACEFULLY TO PROMOTE RACIAL JUSTICE
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN THIS WE JOIN THE MANY AFRICAN
NATIONS WHO, HAVING WON THEIR FREEDOM, ARE DETERMINED
THAT THEIR FELLOW AFRICANS SHALL BE FREE.

23. FIFTH, OUR TIES WITH AFRICA ARE NOT ONLY POLITICAL
AND MILITARY, BUT CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC AS WELL. IT
IS THE LATTER THAT ARE THE MOST ENDURING.
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24. AND FINALLY, WE MUST SEEK OPENNESS IN OUR DEALINGS
WITH AFRICAN STATES. WE ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY
ISSUE, AFRICAN OR GLOBAL; TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH ANY
AFRICAN NATION; AND GENERALLY TO PARTICIPATE IN FORUMS
WHERE WE ARE NOT NECESSARILY IN THE MAJORITY. WE WILL
SEEK AGREEMENT, BUT WE WILL NOT BE AFRAID TO DISAGREE.
WE WILL TRY TO UNDERSTAND AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES, EVEN
WHEN THEY MAY DIFFER FROM OUR OWN.

25. ONLY THUS CAN WE PROMOTE OUR VIEWS WITHOUT RANCOR.
OUR RENEWED RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO, OUR EXPERIENCE AT THE RECENT CONFERENCE
ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN IN MAPUTO, AND OUR ABILITY TO WORK
WITH THE AFRICANS AT THE UNITED NATIONS ALL DEMONSTRATE
THE VALUE OF THIS APPROACH.

26. IN THE END, OF COURSE, OUR AFRICA POLICY WILL
BE JUDGED BY RESULTS, NOT INTENTIONS.

27. THE ECONOMIC REALITY OF AFRICA PROVIDES BOTH
CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY. DESPITE ITS VAST RESOURCES,
IT IS ONE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED AREAS OF THE WORLD.
EIGHTEEN OF THE 28 LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THE
WORLD ARE AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

28. THERE IS ONE PHYSICIAN FOR EVERY 15,000 AFRICANS.
THE AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY IN AFRICA IS 43 YEARS--10
YEARS LESS THAN THE AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY THROUGHOUT
THE THIRD WORLD.

29. SEVENTEEN PER CENT OF AFRICANS ARE LITERATE; THERE
ARE SCHOOLS FOR ONLY 28 PER CENT OF THE SCHOOL AGE
CHILDREN.

30. SEVENTY-SIX PER CENT OF AFRICA'S LABOR FORCE IS
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IN AGRICULTURE, BUT FOOD PRODUCTION LAGS BEHIND
POPULATION GROWTH.

31. SUCH STATISTICS ARE INDICATORS OF INTENSE AND
BASIC HUMAN NEEDS.

32. THE POTENTIAL IS THERE TO CHANGE THIS REALITY. WE
CAN HELP THE AFRICANS REALIZE THAT POTENTIAL.

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33. AS I SAID AT THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION:

"THERE SHOULD BE A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
SYSTEM. IN THAT SYSTEM THERE MUST BE EQUITY; THERE
MUST BE GROWTH; BUT, ABOVE ALL, THERE MUST BE JUSTICE.
WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP BUILD THAT NEW SYSTEM."

34. WE ARE COMMITTED TO PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
FOR AFRICA THAT WILL DIRECTLY AFFECT THE LIVES OF THE
MAJORITY WHO ARE POOR. TURNING THIS PRINCIPLE INTO
PRACTICE CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED OVERNIGHT. BUT IT
WILL BE DONE.

35. OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA IS BEING
INCREASED--FROM \$271 MILLION IN FISCAL YEAR 1976 TO A

PROJECTED \$450 MILLION IN FISCAL YEAR 1978. WE HOPE THAT ASSISTANCE FROM OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS WILL ALSO INCREASE, AND EXPECT TO CONSULT WITH THEM ON HOW WE ALL CAN MAKE THE MOST EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS.

36. TO HELP IT REACH RURAL VILLAGES, WE WILL EMPHASIZE SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND SHARING, AMONG AFRICAN AND OTHER DEVELOPING NATIONS, OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES. I HAVE IN MIND SUCH DEVICES AS SMALL FARM MACHINERY NOW BEING MANUFACTURED IN SENEGAL, UPPER VOLTA, MALI AND ELSEWHERE; HAND-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HYDRAULIC PALM OIL PRESSES IN NIGERIA; AND BASIC AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION METHODS THAT HAVE SUCCEEDED IN ONE NATION AND COULD BE APPLIED IN ANOTHER. WE WILL ALSO SUPPORT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH IN AFRICA, AND TRY TO ASSURE THAT OUR OWN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IS APPROPRIATE FOR AFRICAN VILLAGES.

37. OUR AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, HEADED BY GOVERNOR GILLIGAN, IS DETERMINED TO CUT DOWN ON RED TAPE IN APPROVING ASSISTANCE PROJECTS, SO IT CAN RESPOND QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY TO THE NEEDS OF AFRICANS. WE HOPE THE CONGRESS WILL HELP US DO SO. GREATER ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN TO PROJECTS WHICH CAN BE STARTED QUICKLY AND REQUIRE MINIMAL OUTSIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OR SOPHISTICATED EQUIPMENT.

38. MEN AND WOMEN ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN MACHINES. AFRICA'S NATURAL RESOURCES MUST AND WILL BE DEVELOPED BY AFRICA'S PEOPLE. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IS THUS THE KEY TO AFRICA'S FUTURE. WHILE PROVIDING ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR AFRICANS TO STUDY HERE, OUR EMPHASIS WILL BE ON PROGRAMS OF TRAINING AND EDUCATION IN AFRICA.

39. TO THIS CHALLENGING AGENDA, WE MUST ADD SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA'S INFRASTRUCTURE. IT IS A VAST CONTINENT, AND IMPROVED TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO ITS WELFARE.

40. I AM AWARE, AS I INDICATE THESE DIRECTIONS FOR OUR PROGRAMS, HOW TEMPTING IT IS TO DESIGN BLUEPRINTS FOR ANOTHER CONTINENT'S DEVELOPMENT. WE ALSO KNOW HOW MISTAKEN IT WOULD BE TO TRY TO DO SO.
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41. WE CAN ONLY WORK EFFECTIVELY IF WE WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, AND MAKE SURE THAT IT IS THEY WHO ARE DEFINING DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AND PRIORITIES. TO THIS END, WE WILL SEEK TO INCREASE OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND. AND WE ARE REQUESTING FROM THE CONGRESS \$200 MILLION FOR THE SAHEL, TO BE MANAGED IN COORDINATION WITH THE CLUB DU SAHEL.

42. AMERICA CAN TAKE FULL PART IN THE ADVENTURE OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT ONLY IF WE MEET THE KIND OF COMMITMENTS I HAVE OUTLINED. I HOPE THAT EVERY CITIZEN WITH AN INTEREST IN AFRICA WILL MAKE IT CLEAR, TO THE CONGRESS AND TO US IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, THAT HE OR SHE WANTS THOSE COMMITMENTS MET.

43. WHILE WE ADDRESS THE REALITY OF HUMAN NEED IN AFRICA, WE MUST ALSO DO WHAT WE CAN IN BEHALF OF HUMAN JUSTICE THERE.

44. WE WILL BE FIRM IN OUR SUPPORT OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT ALL OF AFRICA. WE HAVE MADE THAT CLEAR TO GOVERNMENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA; IN WEST, EAST, AND CENTRAL AFRICA; AND IN THE BITTER REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

45. WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENT AFRICAN SOCIAL AND VALUE SYSTEMS. BUT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN DIGNITY ARE NO MORE ACCEPTABLE IN AFRICAN TERMS THAN IN OURS. ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN MODERN AFRICAN HISTORY--AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS--WAS THE RECENT DECISION BY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO CONDEMN THE "MASSIVE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS" IN UGANDA. THIRTEEN AFRICAN NATIONS TOOK PART IN THIS DECISION. THEIR ACTION
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SHOULD BE APPLAUDED BY ALL WHO CARE FOR JUSTICE.

46. ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS WRONG ON ANY GROUNDS. IT IS PARTICULARLY OFFENSIVE WHEN IT IS ON THE BASIS OF RACE.

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FOR S/P GROSE, SPIEGEL, AND WARD FROM LAKE

47. SOUTHERN AFRICA THUS PRESENTS ONE OF THE GREAT
CHALLENGES--AND DANGERS--OF OUR TIME.

48. I HOPE THAT EVERY ONE OF YOU KNOWS THE DEPTH OF
OUR COMMITMENT ON THIS ISSUE. WE HAVE MADE THAT
COMMITMENT CLEAR--IN OUR STATEMENTS, IN THE MEETINGS
THAT VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND I
HAVE HELD WITH BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS OF THE REGION,
IN OUR ACTIONS.

49. WE ARE ACTING IN THE BELIEF THAT EVENTS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE MOVING TO A CRITICAL POINT.
--THE CONFLICTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA ARE
GROWING, AND INCREASINGLY INVOLVE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.
THE CHOICE BETWEEN NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND VIOLENT
SOLUTION MUST BE MADE NOW. MANY LIVES--BLACK AND
WHITE--HANG IN THE BALANCE.
--THE DANGER OF INCREASED FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT
IN THESE CONFLICTS IS REAL.
--VIOLENCE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA GROWS. THERE MAY
BE MORE TIME HERE THAN IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA FOR
PEOPLE OF GOODWILL TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION. BUT PROGRESS
MUST SOON BE MADE, OR GOODWILL COULD BE LOST.
--CRISIS WITHIN THE REGION MEANS INCREASING PRES-

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SURES FOR STRONGER ACTION AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

50. THIS IS THE REALITY WE FACE. THE DANGERS, OUR INTERESTS, AND OUR VALUES, AS WELL AS THE DESIRES OF OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS, REQUIRE OUR INVOLVEMENT. THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION DEMANDS OUR MOST PRACTICAL EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN ITS RESOLUTION.

51. SUCH EFFORTS MUST BE BASED ON AN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR INFLUENCE. WE CANNOT IMPOSE A SOLUTION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE CANNOT DICTATE TERMS TO ANY OF THE PARTIES; OUR LEVERAGE IS LIMITED.

52. BUT WE CAN USE WHAT INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO TRY TO CONVINCE THE MINORITY REGIMES THAT THEIR FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS NOW WOULD INVITE GREATER PROBLEMS AHEAD. AND WE CAN SHOW THE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS, AND THEIR AFRICAN SUPPORTERS, THAT WE SHARE THEIR CONCERN FOR JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE REGION, AND BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

53. WE ARE AMONG THE FEW GOVERNMENTS IN THE WORLD THAT CAN TALK TO BOTH WHITE AND BLACK AFRICANS, IN SOME MEASURE OF TRUST. WE WOULD LOSE OUR ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL IF WE LOST THAT TRUST. IT IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL THAT OUR POLICIES BE CLEAR TO ALL.

54. AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED TO PURSUE ACTIVELY SOLUTIONS TO ALL THREE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS--RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND THE SITUATION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THESE PROBLEMS MUST BE ADDRESSED TOGETHER, FOR THEY ARE STRATEGICALLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND TACTICALLY INTERTWINED.

55. SOME HAVE ARGUED THAT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE IGNORED FOR THE TIME BEING, IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE ON ACHIEVING PROGRESS ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. SUCH A POLICY WOULD BE WRONG AND WOULD NOT WORK. IT WOULD BE BLIND TO THE REALITY THAT THE BEGINNING OF PROGRESS MUST BE MADE SOON WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, IF THERE IS TO BE A POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN THE LONGER RUN. IT COULD MISLEAD THE SOUTH AFRICANS ABOUT OUR REAL CONCERNS. IT WOULD PREJUDICE OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS. IT WOULD DO A DISSERVICE TO OUR OWN BELIEFS. AND IT

WOULD DISCOURAGE THOSE OF ALL RACES WHO ARE WORKING
FOR PEACEFUL PROGRESS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

56. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WE CAN EFFECTIVELY PRESS
SOUTH AFRICA ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WHILE EXPRESSING
OUR CONCERNS ABOUT APARTHEID, BECAUSE PROGRESS IS SO
STRONGLY IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST.

57. WE WILL WELCOME AND RECOGNIZE POSITIVE ACTION BY
SOUTH AFRICA ON EACH OF THESE THREE ISSUES; NAMIBIA,
RHODESIA AND ITS OWN INTERNAL SOLUTION. BUT THE
STAKES ARE VERY LARGE THAT PROGRESS BE MADE ON ALL OF
THEM.

58. LET ME REVIEW BRIEFLY OUR APPROACH TO EACH OF THESE
THREE ISSUES.

59. WE ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING A BRITISH INITIATIVE
TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN
CRISIS. THIS SETTLEMENT WOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON
A CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD ALLOW FREE ELECTIONS, OPEN
TO ALL PARTIES AND IN WHICH ALL OF VOTING AGE COULD
PARTICIPATE EQUALLY. THESE ELECTIONS WOULD ESTABLISH
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THE GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE. OUR GOAL
IS THAT THIS BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING 1978.

60. THIS CONSTITUTION SHOULD INCLUDE A JUSTICIABLE
BILL OF RIGHTS AND AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, SO THAT
THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS, OF ALL RACES, ARE PRO-
TECTED.

61. WE BELIEVE THAT WHITES AS WELL AS BLACKS MUST HAVE
A FUTURE IN NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, AND SOUTH AFRICA. OUR

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CONCERN IS THAT THIS FUTURE BE ASSURED THROUGH PEACE-
FUL PROGRESS TOWARDS RACIAL JUSTICE.

62. WE REMAIN PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE TO A ZIMBABWE
DEVELOPMENT FUND THAT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY OF
SUCH A NATION. ITS BENEFITS WOULD GO TO BLACKS AND
WHITES; ITS GOAL WOULD BE A PROSPERITY IN WHICH BOTH
SHARED.

63. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO LEND GREATER ASSISTANCE
TO THE PEOPLES OF NEIGHBORING NATIONS WHOSE LIVES
HAVE BEEN DISRUPTED BY THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

64. IN NAMIBIA, A SOLUTION IS BEING SOUGHT THROUGH
THE EFFORTS OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER INTERESTED
PARTIES. HERE OUR POSITION IS THAT:

--THERE MUST BE FREE ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL
PARTIES, AND IN WHICH ALL NAMIBIANS CAN PARTICIPATE ON
AN EQUAL BASIS.

--THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BE INVOLVED SO AS TO
ASSURE A FREE AND FAIR POLITICAL PROCESS.

--POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE FREED.

--EXILES FROM NAMIBIA MUST BE ALLOWED TO RETURN.

--DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND REGULATIONS MUST BE
REPEALED IN TIME TO ALLOW FREE ELECTIONS.

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--AND THE INSTRUMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITY
MUST BE WITHDRAWN AS THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD AND INDE-
PENDENCE ACHIEVED.

65. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY INDI-
CATED, IN A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FIVE
NATIONS, THAT IT IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER AN INTERIM
ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENT WHICH COULD ACT IN A NEUTRAL

AND POSITIVE FASHION AND ALLOW SUCH A PROCESS TO TAKE PLACE. WE WELCOME THIS INDICATION OF FLEXIBILITY, AND HOPE THAT IT CAN LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT. DIFFERENCES REMAIN, HOWEVER, AND PROGRESS WILL REQUIRE A WILLINGNESS ON ALL SIDES TO BE OPEN-MINDED.

66. WHILE PURSUING THESE EFFORTS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, WE HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OUR FIRM BELIEF IN THE BENEFITS OF A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. THIS WOULD MEAN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW COURSE TOWARD FULL AND EQUAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.

67. THIS PARTICIPATION COULD BE EXPRESSED THROUGH MANY DIFFERENT SPECIFIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE ALSO DIFFERENT WAYS IN WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF ALL RACES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA COULD BE PROTECTED.

68. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA--BLACKS AND WHITES TOGETHER--TO DECIDE THAT COUNTRY'S FUTURE. WE COULD NOT--AND DO NOT--SEEK TO DICTATE THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF PROGRESS. BUT OUR OWN VALUES AND INTERESTS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REQUIRE THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA BE SHAPED BY WHETHER THAT PROGRESS IS MADE.

69. WE DEEPLY HOPE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL PLAY A PROGRESSIVE ROLE ON THE THREE ISSUES I HAVE DISCUSSED. WE WILL APPLAUD SUCH EFFORTS, AND OUR RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE. IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS, OUR RELATIONS WILL INEVITABLY SUFFER. WE CANNOT SUPPORT OR DEFEND A GOVERNMENT THAT IS BASED ON A SYSTEM OF RACIAL DOMINATION, AND REMAIN TRUE TO OURSELVES.

70. FOR OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA STEMS FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES WITHIN OUR OWN SOCIETY. OUR LONG STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY WITHIN THE UNITED STATES IS NOT YET COMPLETED. BUT GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. THIS PROGRESS MEANS OUR COMMITMENT TO RACIAL EQUALITY IS AN ENDURING ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN AS WELL AS DOMESTIC POLICIES.

71. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NAACP ARE A TESTAMENT TO THE INSEPARABILITY OF OUR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC GOALS. AND IT IS ALSO ENTIRELY FITTING THAT ANDY YOUNG, WHO DID SO MUCH TO DELIVER US FROM OUR DIVISIONS AT HOME,

SHOULD NOW BE CONTRIBUTING SO WELL TO THE DESIGN AND
EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR POLICIES ABOARD.

72. I HAVE HEARD THE ARGUMENT THAT WE MUST SUPPORT THE
WHITE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA--COME WHAT MAY--
SINCE THEY ARE ANTI-COMMUNIST. IN FACT, THE UNRESOLVED
PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ENCOURAGE THE POSSIBLE
GROWTH OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE THERE. THE POLICY OF
APARTHEID IS ACTUALLY ONE OF THE COMMUNISTS' GREATEST
STRENGTHS IN AFRICA.

73. WE BELIEVE THAT A NEGATIVE, REACTIVE AMERICAN
POLICY THAT SEEKS ONLY TO OPPOSE SOVIET OR CUBAN
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INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA WOULD BE BOTH DANGEROUS AND
FUTILE. OUR BEST COURSE IS TO HELP RESOLVE THE
PROBLEMS OF WHICH THE COMMUNISTS MIGHT HOPE TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE.

74. WHEN SUCH CRISES AS THE RECENT INVASION OF ZAIRE
ARISE, WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN EMPHASIZING THEIR EAST-
WEST IMPLICATIONS. WE PREFER TO WORK WITH OTHER

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FOR S/P GROSE, SPIEGEL, AND WARD FROM LAKE

AFRICAN NATIONS-- AND WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES-- IN POSITIVE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SUCH DISPUTES, WHILE TAKING APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. AS PRESIDENT CARTER RECENTLY SAID, IT IS BEST TO FIGHT FIRE WITH WATER.

75. THE HISTORY OF THE PAST 15 YEARS SHOWS THAT EFFORTS BY OUTSIDE POWERS TO DOMINATE AFRICAN NATIONS INEVITABLY FAIL.

76. OUR APPROACH IS TO BUILD POSITIVE RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN NATIONS PRIMARILY THROUGH SUPPORT FOR THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THROUGH THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TIES. OUR EFFORTS TO BUILD SUCH RELATIONS MAY NOT SEIZE THE HEADLINES. BUT AS THIS QUIET STRATEGY IS PURSUED WITH OLD AND NEW FRIENDS IN WEST AFRICA AND EAST AFRICA, NORTH AFRICA AND CENTRAL AFRICA, IT WILL PAY LONG-TERM DIVIDENDS.

77. SOME HAVE ARGUED THAT WE MUST RESPOND IN KIND TO THE INCREASE IN SOVIET ARMS AND CUBAN PERSONNEL IN AFRICA.

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78. BUT WHEN OUTSIDE POWERS SEND SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF ARMS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL INTO AFRICA, THIS GREATLY ENHANCES THE DANGER THAT AFRICAN DISPUTES WILL BE RESOLVED MILITARILY RATHER THAN THROUGH MEDIATION BY OTHER AFRICAN STATES OR BY THE OAU.

79. THIS DANGER IS PARTICULARLY GREAT IN THE HORN, WHERE THERE HAS BEEN AN ESCALATION OF ARMS TRANSFERS FROM THE OUTSIDE. DESPITE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES IN ETHIOPIA, AND THE CONSEQUENT STRAIN IN OUR RELATIONS, WE SEEK FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL THE GOVERNMENTS OF THAT REGION. WE ARE ESTABLISHING AN EMBASSY IN THE NEW NATION OF DJIBOUTI. ITS PEACEFUL ACCESSION TO INDEPENDENCE MARKS A STEP TOWARDS STABILITY IN WHAT REMAINS A TROUBLED AREA.

80. WE WILL CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE FROM STATES WHICH ARE THREATENED BY A BUILD-UP OF FOREIGN MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND ADVISORS ON THEIR

BORDERS, IN THE HORN AND ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. BUT WE HOPE SUCH LOCAL ARMS RACES CAN BE LIMITED. IT IS FAR BETTER FOR THE AFRICANS TO SETTLE LOCAL DISPUTES PEACEFULLY THAN TO TURN TO OUTSIDERS FOR ARMS. FOR THEY BRING WITH THEM THE DANGER OF DEEPENING OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT.

81. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POLICY RECENTLY ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT, ARMS TRANSFERS TO AFRICA WILL BE AN EXCEPTIONAL TOOL OF OUR POLICY AND WILL BE USED ONLY AFTER THE MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. AND WE WILL NOT FUEL LOCAL ARMS RACES BY INTRODUCING A NEW LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION TO THAT REGION'S WEAPONRY.
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82. WE HOPE THAT ALL THE MAJOR POWERS WILL JOIN US IN SUPPORTING AFRICAN NATIONALISM RATHER THAN DIVIDING IT; IN CONCENTRATING ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THAT BENEFITS PEOPLE RATHER THAN ARMS THAT CAN KILL THEM; AND IN MAKING AFRICA AN AREA OF PEACE.

83. THIS IS OUR APPROACH. WE BELIEVE THAT IT DESERVES, AND THUS WILL GAIN, THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

84. IN AFRICA, THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLICIES ARE THOSE THAT ALSO REFLECT OUR OWN BELIEFS: SUPPORT FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE. THEY ARE POLICIES WHICH ARE APPROPRIATE IN AN EAST-WEST CONTEXT: SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FROM OUTSIDE DOMINATION AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES. FINALLY, THEY ARE POLICIES WHICH WILL ENRICH THE REST OF THE WORLD AS WELL AS AFRICA: DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT'S VAST HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES, AND EQUITY IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

85. THE FUTURE OF AFRICA WILL BE BUILT WITH AFRICAN HANDS. OUR INTERESTS AND OUR IDEALS WILL BE SERVED AS WE OFFER OUR OWN SUPPORT. IT WILL REQUIRE THE UNDERSTANDING AND APPROVAL OF THIS AUDIENCE, AND OF AMERICANS EVERYWHERE. THIS IS WHAT I ASK OF YOU TONIGHT.
GAMMON

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